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# STORY and PAGEANT SERIES

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## THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

In

## COLONIAL VIRGINIA

By

EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON, S. T. D.

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PART I  
1607 - 1619

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# The Church of England in Colonial Virginia

by

*Edgar Legare Pennington, S. T. D.*

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The first efforts of the English to colonise Virginia had the support and co-operation of the Church of England clergy. Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, who had made a voyage to Virginia in 1602, was so impressed with the prospects of development that he solicited assistance from his friends in a settlement of the country. "After some Years spent in vain, he at last prevailed with Capt. *John Smith*, Mr. *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, the Rev. Mr. *Robert Hunt*, and divers others to join in the Undertaking."<sup>1</sup> On account of the burden and expense involved, he applied to the nobility, the gentry, and the merchants, who responded. Among those who were enthusiastic for the project we find the Reverend Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster and one of the world's most celebrated compilers of narratives of discovery and exploration.

On the 10th of April, 1610, King James the First granted letters patent to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, the Reverend Richard Hakluyt, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, George Popham, "and divers others of our loving subjects," for erecting two several colonies and plantations to be made in Virginia and other parts of America.<sup>2</sup>

Paragraph III. of the preamble of the charter stated: "We greatly commending and graciously accepting of their desires for the furtherance of so noble a work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of His divine

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(1) Stith: History of Virginia, p. 35.

(2) Goodwin: Colonial Church in Virginia, p. 12.



Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages, living in those parts, to human civility and to a settled and quiet government.”<sup>3</sup>

In the royal instructions for the government of Virginia, accompanying the letters of 1606, the President and Council were instructed to see that the “true word and service of God were preached, planted, and used” among the Indians residing within the limits of the colony; and it was ordered that the English settlers treat the heathen “with unfailing kindness, and to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God” by all proper and available means.<sup>4</sup> The following quotation is appropriate:—“And we do specially ordaine, charge, and require, the said President and Counsell, and the ministers of the said several colonies respectively within their several limits and precincts, that they, with all diligence, care, and respect, doe provide, that the true word, and service of God and Christian faith be preached, planted, and used, not only within every of the said several colonies, and plantations, but alsoe as much as they may amongst the salvage people which doe or shall adjoine unto them, or border upon them, according to the doctrine, rights, and religion now professed and established within our realm of England.”

Those who have suggested that selfish considerations were mainly responsible for the colonisation of Virginia overlook the fact that the age was a religious one, and that, as Doctor Goodwin remarks, “a genuine religious spirit pervaded the national life and strongly influenced its political, social, and even its commercial aims. Moreover, these founders of Virginia were religious men with a Puritan cast of mind, men who weighed both their words and their Motives.”<sup>5</sup> Contemporary evidence is strengthened by a publication issued in 1610 by the advice and direction of the Council of Virginia, known as “A true declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia.” Therein it is declared, that “our primarie end is to plant religion, our secundarie and alter-

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(3) *Ibid.*, p. 13.

(4) Instructions for the Govt. of the North and South Va. Colonies (1606); Bruce: Institutional History of Virginia, I., p. 4.

(5) Goodwin: Colonial Church in Virginia, p. 14.



nate ends are for the honour and profit of our nation." The author continues:—

"I demand a resolution of this plaine question: whether it bee not a determinated truth, that the Gospell should bee preached, to all the world? If it must bee preached, (as heauen and earth must passe awaie, but Gods word shall not pass awaie) then must it bee preached, one of these three waies: Either meerly Apostolically, without the helpe of man, (without so much as a staffe) or meerely imperiallie, when a Prince, hath conquered their bodies, that the Preachers may feede their soules; Or mixtly, by discoverie, and trade of marchaunts; where all temporall meanes are vsed for defence, and security, but none for offence, or crueltie. . . . The third, belongs to vs, who by way of marchandizing and trade, doe buy of them the pearles of earth, and sell to them the pearles of heauen. . . . Why is it not a dutie of Christianitie, to behold the imprinted footsteps of Gods glorie, in euery region onder heaven?"<sup>6</sup>

When the "Susan Constant," the "Goodspeed," and the "Discovery" dropped down the Thames from London, December 20th, 1606, a Church of England clergyman was on board one of the vessels, bound for the New World and ready to minister to the spiritual needs of the Virginia colonists. The Reverend Robert Hunt seems to have been appointed at the recommendation of the Reverend Richard Hakluyt, who had declined the post; though the Archbishop of Canterbury gave his approval to Hunt, as "a man not anywaie to be touched w<sup>th</sup> the rebellious humors of a popish spirit, nor blemished w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> least suspicion of a factius scismatick."<sup>7</sup> It appears that he had lived in Kent, and that, prior to his mission, he was vicar of Reculver, to which he had been appointed January 18th, 1594, and from which he resigned in 1602.<sup>8</sup>

(6) A true declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia, in Peter Force Tracts, III., No. 1, pp. 5-6.

(7) Smith: Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters, p. 53 (quoted in Perry: American Episcopal Church, I., p. 42).

(8) Perry: American Episcopal Church, I., p. 42.

The little expedition was delayed for six weeks, by unfavourable winds; and during the time Mr. Hunt "was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recoverie. Yet although he were but ten or twelve miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes), and notwithstanding the stormie weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst us) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the business, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disastrous designes (could they have prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not, with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted example) quenched those flames of envie and dissention."<sup>9</sup> Thus, according to one in a position to observe the strain and difficulties of the venture, Mr. Hunt proved a constructive and ennobling factor.

On the 26th of April, 1607, the settlers arrived at a cape, which they named Cape Henry in honour of the Prince of Wales, the eldest son of King James the First. A cross was planted there. Then the expedition sailed into Chesapeake Bay and up the James River. On the 13th of May, the site for Jamestown was chosen; and the ships were made fast to the trees. The next day, the travellers unloaded. Both gentlemen and labourers felled trees to make a clearing for the fort.

Here we quote from Captain John Smith:—

"Now because I have spoken so much of the body, give me leave to say somewhat of the soule; and the rather because I have been demanded by so many how we began to preach the Gospel in Virginia, and by what authority; what churches we had, and our order of service, and maintainance of our ministers, therefore I think it not amiss to satisfie their demands, it being the mother of all our Plantations, intreating pride to spare laughter to understand her simple beginnings and proceedings.

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(9) *Narratives of Early Virginia*, p. 122; Wingfield: *Discourse of Virginia*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV., p. 102; Purchas *His Pilgrims* (1905 edition), XVIII., p. 460.

“When first we went to Virginia I well remember we did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or four trees, to shadow us from the sunne; our walles were railes of wood; our seats unhewed trees till we cut planks; our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighboring trees. In foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent; for we had few better, and this came by adventure for new.

“This was our church till we built a homely thing like a barne, set upon cratchets, covered with rafts sedge and earth; so was the walls. The best of our houses of like curiosity, but the most part far much worse workmanship, that neither could well defend wind nor raine. Yet we had daily Common Prayer, morning and evening; every Sunday two sermons; and every three months the holy Communion, till our minister died; but our Prayers daily with an Homily on Sundaies, we continued two or three yeares after, till our (more?) preachers came.”<sup>10</sup>

Much has been written of the hardships which the first Virginia colonists endured. Ague and fever, diseases caused by the swamps and the bad drinking water; the constant menace of the Indians; the scarcity of food; the inevitable dissensions which arose within a disappointed group of settlers; the difficulties of adaptation and adjustment to new living conditions — it is all a sad story. The President of the colony, Edward-Maria Wingfield, vouches for the wholesome influence of the clergyman in those anxious times. “Two or three Sunday morninges, the Indians gave us alarms at our Towne; by that times they were answered, the place about us well discovered, and our divine service ended, the daie was far spent. The preacher did ask me if it were my pleasure to have a sermon; hee said he was prepared for it. I made answer, that our men were wearie and hungry, and that he did see the tyme of the day far past (for at other tymes he never made such question, but the service finished, he began his sermon), and that if it pleased him, we would spare him till some other time. I never failed to take such notes, by

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(10) Goodwin: Colonial Church in Virginia, p. 22.

writing, out of his Doctrine as my capacity would comprehend, unless some rainy day hindered my endeavors." Captain John Smith found in the Reverend Mr. Hunt "an honest, religious, and courageous divine;" and said: "Many were the mischefs that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits, but the good Doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Mr. Hunt reconciled them."<sup>11</sup>

Though a period of such dire distress followed that "the living were scarce able to bury the dead,"<sup>12</sup> and the stock of liquors was reduced to two gallons each of "sack" and *aqua vitae*, the sack was reserved for the communion table.<sup>13</sup> While, unlike the colonists who later settled in New England, the Virginia settlers had no political and religious problems to spur them on to expatriation, they emphasised piety and reverence in their daily activity.

On the 22nd of June, 1607, Captain Newport left for England, in the "Susan Constant," leaving behind him 104 persons, "verie bare and scantie of victualls, furthermore in warres and in danger of the Savages." For his good passage homeward and his safe return, the colonists "made many prayers to our Almighty God."<sup>14</sup> The day before he departed, the holy communion was celebrated. This service, at which Captain Newport invited many "to supper as a farewell," is regarded as the first communion held in the colony.<sup>15</sup>

Then followed the long summer months, so vividly described by one of the sufferers. "Our men were destroyed with cruell Diseases as Swellings, Fluxes, Burning Fevers, and by warres, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of mere famine. There were never *Englishmen* left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discovered *Virginia*. Wee watched every three nights lying on the bare cold ground what weather soever came warded all the next day, which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches, our food was but a small Can of Barlie sod in water to five men a day, our drinke cold water

(11) *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23; Narratives of Early Virginia, p. 125.

(12) Smith: *Historie*, I., p. 682.

(13) Anderson: *Colonial Church*, I., p. 177.

(14) Wingfield: *Discourse*.

(15) Smith MSS. in State Paper Office, cited in Anderson: *Colonial Church*, I., p. 176. Anderson regards this as the first communion.

taken out of the River, which was at a floud verie salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived for the space of five monthes in this miserable distresse, not having five able men to man our Bulwarkes upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to have put a terrour in the Savages hearts, we had all perished by those vile and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were our men night and day groaning in every corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare, if there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts bleed to heare the pittiful murmurings & outcries of our sick men without reliefe every night and day for the space of sixe weekes, some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night, in the morning their bodies trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges to be buried: in this sort did I see the mortalitie of divers of our people.

"It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortal enemies to releeve us with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie, which was the setting up of our feeble men, otherwise wee had all perished. Allso we were frequented by divers Kings in the Countrie, bringing us store of provision to our great comfort."<sup>16</sup>

Captain Bartholomew Gosnold died the 22nd of August — "a worthy and religious gentleman." He was "honorably buried, having all the ordnance in the port shot off, with many volleys of small shots."<sup>17</sup> By September, at least fifty of the colonists had died, and the provisions were nearly exhausted. Wingfield was displaced as President by Ratcliffe, September 10th.

In December, Captain John Smith made a journey up the Chesapeake, in order to get provisions from the Indians. Unfortunately, he incurred the hostility of the natives, and two of his companions were killed. Smith himself was made captive. Released after a few weeks, he returned to Jamestown, to find that more of the colonists had died.

In January, 1608, Captain Newport returned. Three days after his arrival, the little settlement of Jamestown was burned —

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(16) Percy: Discourse.

(17) Perry: American Episcopal Church, I., p. 47.



the storehouse and the barn-like church being consumed in the flames. Smith tells us that in this fire "Good Master Hunt, our Preacher, lost all his library and all that he had but the cloathes on his back; yet none never heard him repine at his losse."<sup>18</sup> Upon any alarm, Smith said, Mr. Hunt "would be as readie for defence as any; and till he could not speake he never ceased to his utmost to animate us constantly to persist; whose soule questionlesse is with God."<sup>19</sup>

Captain Newport's arrival gave the colony a further lease on life. Impoverished and homeless as the settlers were, worn by disease and privation, disappointed of their hopes of speedy fortunes, and well-nigh defenceless against the attacks of the savages, they were about ready to abandon the ill-starred project. But Newport gave orders for rebuilding the town; and his sailors rebuilt the church. There was nothing at their disposal but green timber from the adjacent swamps and woods; this was used. Newport also tried to effect better relations between the whites and the Indians. He paid a visit to Powhatan, a well-known chief who lived on the north side of the York River.

On the 10th of April, Newport left Jamestown for England. In the meantime, Captain Nelson, who had started out for Virginia with Newport and had been separated by storm, arrived in the "Phoenix," with provisions as well as seventy settlers. This brought temporary relief; but the hardships of the colonists were still severe. During the year, a band of eighteen savages fell into the hands of the settlers; and for some time they were carried to the religious services, both morning and evening, in the hopes that they might be favourably influenced. We do not know the results.<sup>20</sup>

When Newport returned in October, he brought more colonists, including the first women who joined the Jamestown settlers. A certain Mrs. Forrest came over, bringing her maid, Anne Burras. The latter was married to a labourer, John Laydon, one of the original settlers, either in December, 1608, or in the following month. It was the first marriage celebrated among the white

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(18) Smith: *Historie*, I., p. 168; Perry: *American Episcopal Church*, I., p. 47.

(19) *Ibid.*

(20) *Works of Capt. John Smith* (Arber's edition), p. 36.

settlers of Virginia. We do not know whether the Reverend Mr. Hunt performed the marriage or not. He died about this time.

In the hopes of bettering conditions, the friends of the Virginia enterprise applied for a new charter. The same was granted, May 23rd, 1609, to "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia." Anglican clergymen were prominent in the incorporation. The list included the Bishops of London, of Lincoln, of Worcester, of Bath and Wells; Dean Sutcliffe of Exeter; the Reverend Richard Hakluyt, and others — all associated in the scheme.<sup>22</sup> The 29th article of this second charter asserts the missionary character of the undertaking:—

"And lastly, because the principal effect which we can desire, or expect in this action, is the conversion and seduction of the people in those parts unto the true worship of God and Christian religion . . . ."<sup>23</sup>

The celebrated Hakluyt was anxious to keep before the colonists the serious nature of their enterprise, and wrote a letter of advice, which contained the following language:—

"Lastly and chiefly, the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God, the giver of all goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."<sup>24</sup>

The newly chartered Company published a statement of their intentions in the planting of the Virginia colony; and enumerated as the "principal and Main Endes:" first, "To preach and baptize into the Christian Religion and by the propagation of the Gospel to recover out of the armes of the Divell, a number of poore and miserable soules, wrapt up unto death, in almost invincible ignorance, to endeavor the fulfilling, and the accomplishment of the number of the elect, which shall be gathered from all corners of the earth; and to add our myte to the Treasury

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(21) Beverley: History of Virginia (1855), p. 23; Winsor: Narrative and Critical History, III., p. 132.

(22) Perry: American Episcopal Church, I., p. 49.

(23) Allen: Toleration in Maryland, p. 5.

(24) Brown: Genesis of the United States.



of Heaven, that as we pray for the coming of the Kingdom of Glory, so to expresse in our actions the same desire, if God have pleased to use so weak instruments, to the ripening and consummation thereof." This document closed with the appeal:—

"Let every man look inward, and disperse that cloud of avarice, which darkeneth his spiritual sight and he will finde there, that when he shall appeare before the Tribunall of Heaven, it shall be questioned him what he hath done? Hath he fed and clothed the hungry and naked? It shall be required, what hath he done for the advancement of that Gospell which hath saved him; and for the releefe of his makers Image, whom he was bound to save?"<sup>25</sup>

On the 1st of June, 1609, the first expedition under the new charter sailed from Plymouth. There were nine vessels. Newport commanded the fleet; and Sir Thomas Gates was Lieutenant-Governor. Among the instructions issued to Gates, we find the following articles:—

"6 You shall take principall Order and Care for the true and reverent worship of God that his worde be duely preached and his holy sacraments administred according to y<sup>e</sup> constitucons of the Church of England in all fundamentall pointes, and his ministers had in due observance and respects agreeable to the dignity of their callinge. And that all Atheisme Prophanes Popery or Schisme be exemplarily punished to the honor of god and to the peace and safety of his Church, over w<sup>ch</sup> in this tendernes and infancy, you must be especially solicitous & watchefull.

"7 You shall, with all Ppenseness and diligence, endeavour the conversion of the natives to the knowledge and worship of the true (god) and their redeemer Christ Jesus, as the most pious and noble end of this plantacon, w<sup>ch</sup> the better to effect you must Pcure from them some convenient number of their children to be brought vp in yo<sup>r</sup> language, and manners, and if

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(25) Goodwin: Colonial Church in Virginia, pp. 33-34 (quoting Brown: Genesis of the United States).

yo<sup>r</sup> finde it convenient we thinke it reasonable you first remoue from them their Iniocasockes or Priestes by a surprise of them all and detayninge them prisoners, for they are so wrapped up in the fogge and miserie of their iniquity, and so tirrified with their continuall tirrany Chayned vnder the bond of Deathe vnto the Divell that while they liue amounge them to poyson and infecte them their mindes, you shall neuer make any greate progres into this glorious worke, nor haue any Civill peace or concurre with them."<sup>26</sup>

One of the ships, the "Sea Venture," which embarked with Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, was cast on the Bermudas by a violent storm. The passengers and sailors were stranded on the island for several months. The chaplain of the vessel was the Reverend Richard Buck, an Oxford man, commended as "an able and painful preacher."<sup>27</sup> During the stay on the island, the ship-wrecked travellers had regular religious services. Strachey, the Secretary of Virginia, says:—"We had every Sunday two sermons preached by our minister, besides every morning and evening, at the ringing of a bell, we repaired all to public prayer, at what time the names of our whole company were called, and such as were wanting were duly punished." While there, Mr. Buck had several marriages, baptisms, and funerals. Six of the company were buried according to the Church of England rites. Before leaving the island, in the rude cedar ships which they built during their sojourn, the travellers, at the direction of Sir Thomas Gates, erected a memorial in the figure of a cross, made of some timber from the old wreck, and bearing on each side an inscription in Latin and English: "In memory of our great deliverance both from a mightie storme and leake: wee have set up this to the honour of God." Sailing for Virginia, they arrived May 23rd, 1610.<sup>28</sup>

Some of the ships had already landed; but the usual scourge of epidemic disorders, famine, and distress, coupled with disorganisation and friction had exacted its toll. When Gates

(26) Records of the Virginia Company (Library of Congress, 1933), III., pp. 14-15; Ashmolean MSS. 1144, folios 175-190a.

(27) William Crashaw: *Epistle dedicatorie* (cited by Anderson: *Colonial Church*, I., p. 209).

(28) Perry: *American Episcopal Church*, I., p. 54.

reached Virginia, he found only about sixty colonists. Probably three hundred had died during the preceding nine months. It was truly a grim spectacle that confronted the new Governor. But as soon as he landed, the Governor, accompanied by the newcomers, proceeded to the ruined church. Gates caused the bell to be rung. The dispirited, starved people went to the church, to join in the "zealous and sorrowful" prayer of the Reverend Mr. Buck. At the close of this service, the commission of Gates was formally proclaimed.<sup>29</sup>

So discouraging was the outlook that Gates determined to abandon the settlement. On June 7th, the survivors embarked, floating down with the tide, "none dropping a tear, because none had enjoyed one day of happiness." But on the next day, they sighted a squadron commanded by Lord Delaware, who had decided to take charge of the colony in person. So they returned.

Thomas West, Lord Delaware, had been appointed Governor General the year before; but he had delayed his journey to America until he realised that conditions demanded his presence. His instructions were similar to those received by Gates. He was ordered "to take principall order and care for the true worship and service of god as by havinge the gospell preched frequent prayers and the sacram<sup>ts</sup> administred as becometh xtians." His ministers were to be held in respect, "agreable to theire dignitie and callinge;" and atheism, prophaneness, popery, and schism were to be punished. Efforts were to be made to convert the Indians; and strategy was recommended to circumvent the influence of the savage priests.<sup>30</sup>

When Lord Delaware first landed, he caused his company in arms to stand in order and make a guard; then he fell upon his knees, and in the presence of the people made a long and silent prayer. Afterwards, he marched up into the town and passed on into the little church, where he listened to a sermon by the Reverend Mr. Buck.<sup>31</sup> With the resuscitation that followed, as a result of Lord Delaware's leadership, the church was given prompt attention. The Governor ordered the church repaired,

(29) *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

(30) Records of the Virginia Company (Library of Congress, 1933), p. 27; Ashmolean MSS. 1147, folios 191-192a.

(31) Purchas His Pilgrims (1905 edition). XIX., p. 59.

and many people joined in the work. Secretary Strachey described it, as "in length three-score foot, in breadth twenty-foure, and shall have a Chancel in it of Cedar and a Communion Table of the Blake (black) Walnut, and all the pewes of Cedar, with faire Broad Windows, to shut and open, as the weather shall occasion, of the same wood, a Pulpet of the same, with a font hewen hollow, like a Conoa, with two Bels at the West end. It is so cast, as to be very light within."

The Governor and his staff sought, even in the midst of the struggles through which they were passing, to keep alive the dignity which befitted their station. As Strachey tells us, "the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall doth cause (the church) to be kept passing sweete, and trimmed up with divers flowers, with a Sexton belonging to it; and in it every Sunday wee have sermons twice a day, and every Thursday a sermon, having true (two?) preachers, which take their weekly turnes; and every morning at the ringing of a bell, about ten of the clocke, each man addresseth himself to prayers, and so at foure of the clocke before supper. Every Sunday, when the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall goeth to Church, hee is accompanied with all the Counsaillers, Captaines, other Officers and all the gentlemen, with a guard of Holberdiers, in his Lordship's livery, faire red cloakes, to the number of fifty both on each side, and behinde him; and being in the Church his Lordship hath his seate in the Quire, in a green velvet chair, with a cloath, with a velvet cushion spread on a table before him, on which he kneeleth, and on each side sit the Counsell, Captaines, and officers each in their place, and when he returneth home againe, he is waited on to his house in the same manner."<sup>32</sup>

There was evidently another minister in Jamestown, beside Mr. Hunt — probably the chaplain of the fleet or the Reverend William Mease.

On May 24th, 1610, the "Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martial for the Colony in Virginia Britannia" were first established. They were exemplified and approved by Lord Delaware, June 12th, and enlarged by Sir Thomas Dale, June 22nd, the following year. While extremely rigid and severe, according to present-

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(32) Quoted in Goodwin: Colonial Church in Virginia, p. 32.

day standards, they were not foreign to the spirit of the times, which had been moulded so largely upon the Levitical law of the Old Testament. By these laws, all captains and officers, whether in town or towns, forts or fortresses, were enjoined "to have a care that the Almighty God bee duly and daily served, and that they call vpon their people to heare sermons, as that also they diligently frequent Morning and Evening praier themselves by their owne exemplar and daily life, and duty herein, encouraging others thereunto." No man should speak impiously or maliciously against "the holy and blessed Trinitie, or any of the three persons . . . or against the knowne Articles of the Christian faith, vpon paine of death." Blaspheming God's holy name was made a capital crime. Unlawful oaths, taking God's name in vain, would be severely punished for the first offence; for the second, a bodkin would be thrust through the offender's tongue; for the third, the culprit might be brought before a martial court and receive sentence of death. The ministers must be treated with proper reverence. "Everie man and woman duly twice a day vpon the first towling of the Bell shall vpon the working daies reparaire vnto the Church to hear diuine Service vpon pain of losing his or her dayes allowance for the first omission, for the second to be whipt, and for the third to be condemned to the Gallies for six Moneths." Sabbath violation was severely punished. The duties of the ministers were prescribed.<sup>35</sup>

There was at this time, with the prospects of a larger and more scattered population, a great need of clergymen; and a recital of affairs sent by the Governor and Council to the London Company, dated July 7th, 1610, requested "a new supply in such matters of the two-fold physicke, which both the soules and bodies of our poor people here stand much in neede of"—that is, among other things, "four honest and learned Ministers."<sup>36</sup>

In May, 1611, Sir Thomas Dale arrived with about three hundred settlers. First, he employed all hands in planting corn at the two forts; then he hastened to Jamestown, "where the most company were, and their daily and usuall workes, bowling in the streetes, these he imployed about necessary workes, as felling of

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(35) Peter Force Tracts, III., No. 2.

(36) Perry: American Episcopal Church, I., p. 57.



Timber, repairing their houses . . .”<sup>37</sup> We do not believe that Dale was tyrannical or harsh; the laws which he endorsed were calculated to bring order out of chaos. Services were held soon after his coming at Kecoughtan, an Indian village near the forts which guarded the mouth of the river. The Reverend William Mease doubtless conducted the first service there.<sup>38</sup>

About the 2nd of August, Sir Thomas Gates, who had gone back to England, returned to Virginia, accompanied by his family and the Reverend Nicholas Glover. Mr. Glover had been “an approved preacher in Bedford and Huntingdonshire, a graduate of Cambridge, revered and respected.”<sup>39</sup> He seems to have been well advanced in years; and though anxious to do missionary work, he lacked the requisite strength. He did not survive his voyage long; and it is not known what services he held in his new field. “He endured not the sea-sickness of the country, so well as younger and stronger bodies; and so, after zealous and faithfull performance of his ministeriall dutie, whilst he was able, he gave his soule to Christ Jesus (under whose banner he went to fight; and for whose glorious name’s sake he undertooke the danger), more worthy to be accounted a true Confessor of Christ than hundreds that are canonized in the Pope’s Martyrologie.”<sup>40</sup>

Gates established himself at Kecoughtan (Hampton); and deputed the command of Jamestown to George Percy. Early in September, he sent Dale, with three hundred and fifty men, to found a new settlement. Dale set out towards the Falls; and in a day and a half landed at a suitable spot. There he proceeded to lay out Henrico. “No sooner was he thus fenced, and in a manner secured from the Indians, but his next worke (without respect to his owne health or particular welfare) was building at each corner of the towne, very strong and high commanders or watch-towers, a faire and handsome Church, and storehouses, which finished he began to thinke upon convenient houses and lodgings for himselfe and men.”<sup>41</sup>

(37) Hamor: *True Discourse*, p. 26.

(38) St. John’s parish, Hampton, Va., claims July 19, 1610 as the date of the first service held at Kecoughtan (Hampton).

(39) Crashaw: *Epistle Dedicatorie*.

(40) Crashaw: *Epistle Dedicatorie* (quoted in Perry: *American Episcopal Church*, I., p. 58).

(41) Hamor: *True Discourse*, pp. 29-30.



A more handsome church of brick was soon erected. Three years later it could be said that there was in the town of Henrico "three streets of well framed houses, a hansom Church, and the foundation of a more stately one laid, of Brick, in length, an hundre foote, and fifty foot wide, beside store houses, watch houses, and such like . . . For the further enlargement yet of this Town, on the other side of the Riuer, by impaling likewise: for we make no other fence, is secured to our use, especially for our hogges to feede in, about twelue English miles of ground, by name *Hope in faith*. Coxendale, secured by fiue Forts, called, *Charity Fort*, *Mount malado*, a *retreat*, or *quest house* for sick people, a high seat, and wholesome aire, *Elizabeth Fort*, and *Fort patience*: and heere hath Mr. Whitacres chosen his Parsonage, or Church land, som hundred Acres impaled, and a faire framed parsonage house built thereupon, called *Rocke Hall* of this Towne."<sup>42</sup>

The Reverend Alexander Whitaker, known as "the Apostle of Virginia" and revered to this day as a symbol of sincerity and earnestness, was the son of Doctor William Whitaker, an eminent scholar and for many years Professor of Divinity and Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. He had been in active work in the northern part of England, where he was beloved and supported by his people; and he came to America, because he was imbued with missionary ardour. A contemporary says of him:—

"A scholler, a graduate, a preacher, well borne and friended in England; not in debt nor disgrace, but competently provided for, and liked and beloved where he lived; not in want, but (for a scholler, and as these days be) rich in possession, and more in possibilitie; of himself, without any persuaſion (but God's and his own heart) did voluntarily leave his warme nest, and to the wonder of his kindred and amazement of them that knew him, undertooke this hard, but, in my judgment, heroicall resolution to go to Virginia, and helpe to beare the name of God unto the Gentiles."<sup>43</sup>

Mr. Whitaker preached every Sunday morning and catechised in the afternoon. Every Saturday night, he exhorted in

(42) *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

(43) Crashaw: Epistle Dedicatorie.

Sir Thomas Dale's house.<sup>44</sup> After fifteen months service in his new field, he wrote his "Good News from Virginia," which was published in England. William Crashaw supplied the "Epistle Dedicatorie." He was very much interested in the conversion of the Indians; and one of his chief claims to popular recognition rests on the fact that he was the teacher of Pocahontas and baptised her. He promised to give three years' service, on going to Virginia; but he decided to remain.<sup>45</sup>

In December, 1611, the Appomattox Indians having committed some depredations, Dale captured their town on the south side of James, near the mouth of the Appomattox River and about five miles from Henrico. There he established the third town of Virginia, and called it Bermuda. It soon outshone Henrico; and the Governor of the colony sometimes took up his residence there. Whitaker lived there also, and served both Bermuda and Henrico. Other settlements followed: and it looked as if Virginia was destined to prove a permanent colony. During those years there was danger of attack not only from the Indians, however, but from the Spaniards, whose vessels were frequently sighted off the Virginia coasts and even within Hampton Roads.<sup>46</sup>

A third charter was granted to Virginia, March 12th, 1612, extending the boundaries of the colonies, and reciting that the plantation was undertaken "for the propagation of Christian religion and reclaiming of people barbarous to civility and humanity." The Archbishop of Canterbury was named among the "adventurers."

Eloquent pleas for the conversion of the savages were made about this time; and there can be no question that the Virginia colonists were anxious to rescue the souls of the poor Indians from the terrible pangs that they felt were in store for the unreclaimed heathens. Ralph Hamor, the younger, in his "Trve Disovrse of the present estate of Virginia, and the successe of the affaires there till the 18 of Iune, 1614," voiced a fervent appeal to his people "to spare a little-little portion to the ful setting and finish-

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(44) Letter by Whitaker, quoted in Burton: *Annals of Henrico parish*, pp. 6-7.

(45) Purchas His Pilgrims, IV., p. 1771; (1905 edition) XIX., p. 109.

(46) Goodwin: *Colonial Church in Virginia*, p. 36.

ing up a *Sanctum Sanctorum* an holy house, a *Sanctuary* to him, the *God* of the *Spirits*, of all flesh, amongst such poore and innocent seduced Savages." He said:—

"Sure, yong though in yeeres and knowledge, I may be said to be, yet let me remember, to thee perhaps much knowing *Reader*, what the wisest man that euer writ or spake (excepting him that was both God and man) hath said, that such who bring others unto righteousness shal themselues shine as the stars in the firmament. And doubtlesse I doe beleue, even among the rest of my *Articles*, when these poore Heathens shall be brought to entertaine the honour of the name, and glory of the Gospell of our blessed Sauour, when they shall testifie of the true and euerliuing God, and Iesus Christ to be their Saluation, their Knowledge so enlarged and sanctified, that without him they confesse their eternal death: I do beleue I say (and how can it be otherwise?) that they shal breake out and cry with the rapture of so inexplicable mercie: Blessed be the King and Prince of England, and blessed be the English Nation, and blessed foreuer be the most high God, possessor of Heauen and earth, that sent those English as Angels to bring such glad tidings amongst us."<sup>47</sup>

In the spring of 1613, Governor Argall bribed the King of Potomac to betray Pocahontas, the daughter of King Powhatan, into his hands. He then sent a messenger to her father, demanding as a ransom the restoration of all the English captives held by him and all the arms and tools which had been stolen from the settlers. Powhatan postponed his decision. Pocahontas learned to love her captors; and she was married to John Rolfe, a young widower of good family and reputation. This alliance resulted in a peace between Powhatan and the white settlers. The marriage took place, April 5th, 1614, or thereabouts. Rolfe took his wife to England with him, where she was introduced at court and where her portrait was engraved. Pocahontas died of the small-pox, March 21st, 1617; and was buried at Gravesend, in the County of Kent. Her son, Thomas Rolfe, returned to Virginia.

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(47) Hamor: True Discourse (Preface "To the Reader").

The Reverend Mr. Whitaker was drowned in crossing the James River in 1617; and the passing of this much revered man was a great loss to the colony. In the next few years, the population of Virginia grew steadily; parishes were added, and, from time to time, other clergymen introduced. During the administration of Governor Samuel Argall, who arrived in May, 1617, a new church was built at Jamestown. The old edifice, erected by Newport after the fire of January, 1608, and repaired by Lord Delaware in 1610, had fallen into decay, and a storehouse was being used as a church. For the new building, another site was selected; and the church was set up, "wholly at the charge of the inhabitants of that cittie." "This foundation of the church built between 1617 and 1619 is the oldest structure which has been discovered at Jamestown."<sup>48</sup>

A pious English lady, Mrs. Mary Robinson, left £200 in 1617, to be spent, in part, for building a church for the use of the Indians. This fund was applied to the erection of a church in Smith's Hundred, a new settlement; but the project was abandoned after the massacre. Some very handsome silver plate was given to the church — a silver communion cup, two silver chalices — and some of the plate is now in the possession of the church at Hampton, Virginia, where it is treasured as the oldest church silver in America. It is uncertain whether the church for which the silver was engraved was actually erected.<sup>49</sup>

Captain George Yeardley was appointed Governor of Virginia in 1619. His instructions included the following stipulation:—

"And to the intent that Godly learned and painful Ministers may be placed there for the service of Almighty God and for the Spiritual Benefit and Comfort of the People, we further ask and ordain that in every of these cities or Boroughs the severall Quantity of One Hundred Acres of land be set out in Quality of Glebe Land toward the maintenance of the Several ministers of the Parishes to be there limited. And for a further supply of their maintenance there be raised a yearly

(48) Bryan: *Colonial Churches*, p. 24.

(49) Bruce: *Institutional History of Virginia*, I., p. 97; Brown: *First Republic*, pp. 275, 286; *Virginia Hist. Mag.*, XVI., p. 197.

standing and certain contribution out of the profits growing or renewing within the several farms of the said parish and so to make the living of every minister two hundred £ sterling per annum or more as here after there shall be cause."<sup>50</sup>

This provision of a glebe of a hundred acres and a standing revenue from the profits of each parish was the most definite step yet taken towards insuring the ministers' support.

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(50) Randolph MSS. in Va. Hist. Soc.; Virginia Hist. Mag., II., p. 154.













